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CLAIMS TO STATEHOOD.

I.—NEW MEXICO.

BY GOVERNOR L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

IS NEW MEXICO ripe for admission to Statehood ? I answer this question unhesitatingly in the affirmative. To us, who live in New Mexico and who are familiar with its population, wealth and resources the reasons seem to be conclusive. But, in the first place, we claim that the burden of proof is not upon our side of the question. We insist that self-government is the normal condition and indeed an inherent right of American citizenship ; that it is inseparable from any true idea of republican institutions.

The right to representation in the body which enacts the laws and imposes the taxes to which he is subject is dear to every American, and the right to take part in the selection of the national chief magistrate and of the local governor and similar officials is likewise one of which he will not willingly be deprived. A territorial condition, therefore, is an unnatural one, which deprives resident citizens of many of their dearest rights. A territory, as all know, has no vote in national legislation. It is directly under the authority of Congress, but has no power in that body.

We submit that this deprivation of fundamental rights is so radically opposed to the American idea of self-government that it can only be justified by circumstances which would render the ordinary exercise of those rights impossible or dangerous. We will concede that when a population is so sparse that it is not able to support a local government, one of these exceptional cases occurs, and such a population has to be ruled in some other way, and may be deprived temporarily of its right to self-government ; but we insist that as soon as these peculiar conditions are removed

the disability should vanish also. To apply this practically, while in a section of country the people are so few or so poor as to make self-government impossible, they can be temporarily organized under a territorial government, in order to protect life and property ; yet the moment they are able to become self-governing they are entitled to Statehood.

The American citizen in a Territory stands just as well before the law, save for his geographical situation, as any other. If one who is a resident of New Mexico, for example, steps over the border into Colorado or Texas, he is immediately invested with the full rights of citizenship, although if he moves back he loses them. There is no question, therefore, as to the fitness of the individual. No one will contend that he is more intelligent or honest or patriotic because he has crossed an imaginary line, or that he loses any good qualities when he re-crosses it.

We insist, then, that as a territorial condition is an exceptional one, only intended as a temporary expedient, and is in derogation of the civil rights of all the citizens affected thereby, the burden of proof is upon those who desire to continue the abnormal form, and not upon those who insist on the organization of a State. But while we believe that this is logically correct, still we recognize the practical necessity of proving our case before the American people affirmatively ; and this I will proceed to do by a statement of the facts involved. First, however, let me quote a little history to show that the citizens of New Mexico have not only the rights in this matter which belong to their fellows in other Territories, but that a special obligation rests upon the nation to the native people of New Mexico ; and that the latter have never acquiesced in the deprivation from which they have suffered.

A specific promise was made to the citizens of this Territory at the time of its acquisition. When General Kearney made his peaceful entry into Santa Fé, he issued a formal proclamation on August 22, 1846, which contained this statement : "It is the wish and intention of the United States to provide for New Mexico a free government, with the least possible delay, similar to those in the United States." The people were satisfied with the assurances of the American commander, trusted the promises of the proclamation and offered no opposition to the occupation of the whole area of the Territory. As soon as practicable after the establishment of peace under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the people

of New Mexico showed their anxiety to have this pledge fulfilled and to possess all the rights of American citizenship by holding a convention early in 1850, adopting a constitution, electing State officers and a legislature, and Wm. S. Messervy as member of Congress. In July of that year the legislature chose R. H. Weightman and F. C. Cunningham as Senators, and they, with the member of Congress, proceeded to Washington. While on the journey they were met by the intelligence of the passage, on September 9, of the famous "Compromise Measures," which admitted California as a State and relegated New Mexico to the condition of a Territory.

From that time to the present attempts to secure admission have constantly been made. The territorial legislature has repeatedly memorialized Congress on the subject. The delegates have introduced Enabling Acts, and the people have never rested contentedly under this deprivation of their dearest rights. Nor has Congress entirely failed to respond to these appeals. Both houses of the Forty-third Congress passed an Enabling Act, the House by a vote of 160 to 54, and the Senate by 32 to 11. The bill was slightly amended in the Senate, and failed because it was impossible, at the end of the session (it having passed the Senate February 24), to bring it up for concurrence in the House. In the succeeding Congress a similar bill passed the Senate by a vote of 35 to 15, was reported favorably in the House, but failed to be reached. It may well be asked, "If it was proper to admit New Mexico in 1874 or 1876, before it possessed a mile of railroad, a single public building, a developed mine, a matured orchard or alfalfa field, why should it be excluded now, when its population has greatly increased, its condition vastly improved, and its resources of all kinds are being developed into sources of wealth?"

In the present (Fifty-second) Congress, an Enabling Act was introduced in the House of Representatives at an early day, and passed that body in the summer of 1892 with but three negative votes. It is now under consideration in the Senate, but may not be reached for action.

Proceeding now to the affirmative argument for admission, let us consider what conditions would justify the continuance of a suspension of full civil rights to American citizens on any portion of American soil. I think we may agree that they are as follows :

1. Lack of sufficient population to sustain a State government.
2. Lack of sufficient taxable property for that purpose.
3. Lack of sufficient resources to insure permanent support.
4. The unsatisfactory character of the population from lack of sufficient education, or patriotism, or law-abiding qualities.

Any of these conditions, we will admit, would be sufficient to negative the proposition that a territory is "ripe for Statehood," but I propose to show, as briefly as possible, that none of them exists in New Mexico.

In respect to population the claim to Statehood is indisputable. No territory at the time of its admission, with the single exception of Dakota, has contained the population now in New Mexico. By the census of 1890 it had 153,076 inhabitants, without counting the Indians on the reservations. The real population, as has been conclusively shown in public documents, was between 180,000 and 185,000; the difficulty of full enumeration where the area is so vast and the population so scattered, accounting for the difference. But taking the census figures, the above statement as to other territories is correct.

It should be remembered that in many of the Territories at the time of their admission a large fraction of the population was made up of slaves who were not citizens and had no vote. Thus in Missouri there were over 10,000 slaves; in Florida over 25,000 and in Louisiana over 34,000. When these numbers are deducted it reduces the self-governing population quite materially. So it is evident that there is now no reason, on the score of lack of sufficient population, for depriving the people of New Mexico of the ordinary rights of citizens. On the contrary it has more population than Idaho and Wyoming combined, considerably more than Montana, nearly or quite four times as much as Nevada, and 15,000 more than Delaware.

The next question is whether New Mexico possesses sufficient financial strength to support a State government. The assessed valuation of property in 1891 was \$45,329,563. This is much larger than that of many other Territories at the time of their admission. The valuation of the last two States, for example, immediately before their admission, was as follows: Idaho, \$23,948,039; Wyoming, \$31,431,495. The credit of New Mexico is excellent notwithstanding the prejudice against territorial securi-

ties in the financial centres. The only bonds issued during the last four years were \$25,000 for the completion of the Insane Asylum, and although there was some question as to their being in excess of the limit established by Congress, yet they sold for 105½. Since July, 1889, the Territory has been gradually redeeming and cancelling its outstanding penitentiary bonds to an amount between \$40,000 and \$50,000, and for these it was compelled to pay from 107 to 117 per cent., although advertisements were issued in all the great money centres asking for lowest bids.

As an evidence of the public spirit of the people, as well as an exhibition of financial strength, it may be stated that no Territory has ever erected so many public buildings, or possessed so much property, as New Mexico. Without the slightest aid from the public national Government it has built a beautiful Capitol, a substantial Penitentiary, and more recently an Insane Asylum, a University, an Agricultural College and a School of Mines. All these structures are more than creditable—they are sources of pride and gratification; and the last four have been paid for from taxation, without the incurring of any indebtedness, except the sum of \$25,000 to complete the Insane Asylum. In nearly all the newer States the institutions of a similar character have been erected wholly or in part by grants of land made at the time of their admission, but New Mexico has not waited for such assistance. In addition to the above more than half of our counties have erected commodious court-houses of stone or brick within the past ten years.

We may make the broad assertion that New Mexico is endowed with greater natural resources, and in greater variety, than any other State or Territory of the Union. This sounds extravagant and may be considered as a specimen of Western hyperbole, but it is made with an entire appreciation of its full significance, and is well considered and deliberate. In reckoning these resources, I include facilities for agriculture and horticulture and for the raising of animals; and all classes of mineral deposits, metallic and non-metallic. Only one State approaches it in its natural endowments, and that is California; and the possession of almost limitless beds of coal, both bituminous and anthracite, give New Mexico a superiority even over that favored State. If space permitted, it would be easy to show the truth of this general statement. As it is, I must refer for the particulars

to more extended documents where each class of product is discussed separately.

The character of the people, composed of the solid and conservative native element of Spanish descent, in connection with the energetic and enterprising, but sometimes over-zealous, Anglo-American from the East, is specially adapted for self-government. By many in the East the people are looked upon as foreign, and not in harmony with American institutions. It is strange that this suggestion should arise in a land which absorbs half a million of foreigners every year, and which manages to assimilate the very worst elements of Continental Europe. It should be remembered that New Mexico was annexed in 1846, and all of its inhabitants except the oldest were born on American soil, and that its people belonged to a sister Republic with institutions similar to ours, and so were not ignorant of the principles of free government. For almost half a century they have been electing their legislatures, making their laws and carrying on their local government under the American system.

Our citizens are mainly the descendants of the two great nations which insisted on the rights of the people in England under Magna Charta and drove the Moors out of Spain that self government should reign there. They are the children of the patriots who fought for the independence of the United States in 1776, and in Mexico from 1810 to 1821. Surely the sons of such sires must be capable of self-government! The population is very largely native American by birth. The foreign element is smaller in New Mexico than anywhere in the country except in certain Southern States. A comparison with Territories recently admitted is instructive in this regard. The figures are taken from the recent census of 1890. According to this, New Mexico contains 7,915 foreign-born inhabitants to 100,000 native-born, or less than 8 to 100. Idaho has 26 foreign to 100 natives; Wyoming 32 to 100; Washington 35 to 100; South Dakota 35 to 100; Montana 48 to 100, and North Dakota 80 to 100. Even in the older States, Massachusetts, New York and Michigan have 35 to 100; California, 43; Rhode Island and Wisconsin, 44; Minnesota, 55. New Mexico, therefore, is a peculiarly "native American" country.

By many the large number of voters of Spanish descent is looked upon as a grave misfortune. This is a mistake. Every

one familiar with the Far West knows that the principal danger in new American communities arises from the unsettled and irresponsible character of much of the population. They have energy, intelligence, vigor and enterprise, and we recognize them in those respects as good State builders ; but, at the same time, they have some characteristics not so desirable. One of the most noticeable is the migratory habit.

The number of men through all that region with whom two years is a long residence in any one place is astonishing. Of course there are many solid, substantial citizens, but this restless, nomadic population constitutes an element that is always active, aggressive and noisy, ready to vote for any amount of bonds and taxation, and to their irresponsible action is principally due the heavy indebtedness of so many Western cities and counties. They do the mischief, and are gone before its effects are felt. But New Mexico runs no such risk. She has a stable, responsible and conservative element in her native population which counteracts the danger. By itself this element might be too slow and non-progressive, but mixed with the over-zealous American it forms an admirable combination.

Some years ago there may have been some force in the argument of illiteracy, but it is fast disappearing. In no respect has New Mexico been making such rapid progress as in public education. Even under the comparatively crude system which existed before the public school law of 1891, the number of children under instruction had increased in a ratio far in advance of the population. The late census developed the fact that while the population of the territory increased 28 per cent. during the decade from 1880 to 1890, the number of children enrolled in the schools increased 283 per cent., or ten times as rapidly. The crowning work of the last legislature was that relative to public instruction. Under its beneficent provisions the educational system is improving with great rapidity.

It should be remembered that all this improvement has been effected by direct taxation, as we have no school fund whatever. There can be none until we are admitted as a State. Should all of the older States be deprived of their school funds, a lamentable condition of educational affairs would result in many of them. With Statehood come the grants of land from the public domain for educational purposes. So long as New Mexico is a territory it can

have no grants and no fund. This is not the fault of the people, for they have been asking for these advantages for years.

When charged with illiteracy they ask for the immediate grant of these lands, and the uniform reply is that they are not yet a State. Then, when asking for Statehood, they are told that they are too illiterate. So the argument of refusal proceeds in a very unsatisfactory circle. If the educational matter is to be weighed against us, it should be weighed in the direction of giving us Statehood, which will increase our means for public education, rather than in depriving us of it.

The native New Mexicans proved their loyalty to the flag by sending 6,561 soldiers into the field out of a total population of 93,567 in the days of the Rebellion, when the total number of volunteers from the Territories comprising the six new States of North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho and Wyoming was but 1,170; Colorado sent but 4,903, and Nebraska, Nevada and Oregon together contributed but 6,047. New Mexico's volunteers fought at Valverde, Peralta, and on other fields; and at Glorieta, together with their comrades of Colorado, defeated the enemy and turned back the column which was advancing north-erly from Texas with the intention of cutting off the Pacific slope from the remainder of the country. The value of that service to the Union cause can scarcely be over-estimated.

All of our newly-settled communities have more than their share of law-breakers. But New Mexico is far less affected in this way than other Territories, because it is to a large extent an old country. The desperados who crossed the plains found there a settled government, and a population which would not tolerate their lawlessness, and so they quickly passed on to more congenial climes. The situation cannot be better described than by quoting from my report, as Governor, to the Secretary of the Interior, in 1889:

"Quiet and good order are everywhere prevalent in the Territory. During my first experience in New Mexico as Chief Justice, in 1879, the advancing railroads were bringing an influx of the violent and the vicious into the Territory, from which it suffered for several years. The native population, however, was law-abiding and respectful to authority and chargeable with but few crimes. Ten years have wrought a great change. The horde that followed the railroad has passed on to other lands, only leaving a few representatives in our Penitentiary. The desperado and the 'bold bad man' have disappeared. No more quiet or safe community is to be found in the

whole land. A recent occurrence presents a strong illustration of this peaceful condition. The county of Lincoln contains over 26,500 square miles and exceeds in area four of the New England States, with New Jersey and Delaware added. Its sheriff is an efficient officer, who would let no criminal escape. I visited that county during last July and examined its jail. It was empty! There was not a single man undergoing imprisonment there, nor one in confinement awaiting trial! I submit that no similar area in the whole country can show such a record as that."

It appears, then, that none of the conditions exist which would justify a continued territorial condition, and we accordingly demand Statehood as a right. The Territory is "ripe" for it.

L. BRADFORD PRINCE.

II. ARIZONA.

BY EX-GOVERNOR JOHN N. IRWIN.

THE Territory of Arizona is knocking at the door of Congress and asks admission into the Union of States. The condition of a Territory is dependence upon the National Government. That of a State is independence in all things excepting when a constitutional limitation is imposed. A Territory is in vassalage. A State is in equality. A Territory is a child under tutelage. A State is a full grown man with no master. A State governs itself, elects its own officers and enacts its own laws. A territory is governed by officials appointed by the President of the United States, and in the past these officers have usually been selected from the older States and have had little or no knowledge of the people or of the country they are sent to rule.

A territorial legislature can, it is true, enact laws, but these laws are subject to the approval or disapproval of Congress, which knows little and cares less about the needs of a region hundreds of miles away. A Territory has no vote in Congress and no voice in the election of a President. A citizen of a territory is a citizen of the United States, but because he has crossed an imaginary line he has lost the privileges held by other citizens who remain in the States. A Territory is taxed, but has no representation. Its existence is an anomaly and as soon as it can fulfil the conditions it should be received into the Union and given all the rights and privileges of Statehood. These conditions are:

- (1) A people intelligent enough to sustain a State Government.
- (2) A population numerous enough to sustain a State Govern-

ment. (3) Financial strength and resources sufficient to sustain a State Government.

In intelligence and education the people of Arizona will compare favorably with those of any State in the Union. They are largely American, only about eight thousand being of Mexican birth and parentage. They are young, enthusiastic and enterprising, the men having for the most part come from the older States to better their condition in the far West and to hew out fortunes and to build States.

Bribery and kindred scandals are unknown in Arizona and the laws are honestly passed and justly administered. As yet the power of corporations in legislative matters is unknown and the laws are intelligent, humane and suited to the wants of the people. In education, too, Arizona is abreast of the age. It has a splendid system of public schools and at school elections all taxpayers and all parents or guardians of children of school age are entitled to vote without distinction of sex. Every child in the territory can receive a free education, and if too poor to obtain text-books the school district must furnish them free of cost. In these schools no religious tests of any kind are permitted either as to teacher or pupil, and sectarian instruction is absolutely forbidden. Teachers are paid from \$90 to \$125 per month. The counties levy a school tax of seventy-five cents upon each \$100 of assessed property and add to the amount thus raised the money derived from certain licenses, fines and penalties, while each school district which is two miles in extent and includes at least ten children is entitled to an annual allowance of \$400. And this system of schools is sustained entirely by the people of the Territory, with no assistance from the national government excepting a small annual payment for the benefit of the university at Tucson. Arizona has also a fine asylum for the insane and a penitentiary, both built and maintained by territorial funds.

The last census gave Arizona a population of 59,620, but the territory undoubtedly now contains more than 70,000 people. Its superb winter climate has induced many northern and eastern people who are in search of mild winters to settle in its valleys, while the development of its mines and its adaptability for grazing, farming and fruit culture have been factors in bringing many people to make their homes within its borders.

For admission into the Union no certain population is requisite.

The table below shows the population of each Territory by the census preceding its admission as a State.

Tennessee.....	35,691	California.....	92,597
Ohio.....	43,365	Minnesota.....	6,077
Louisiana.....	76,556	Oregon.....	13,294
Indiana.....	24,530	Kansas.....	107,206
Mississippi.....	40,353	Nevada.....	6,857
Alabama.....	*	Nebraska.....	28,841
Missouri.....	66,557	Colorado.....	59,864
Arkansas.....	30,388	†North Dakota.....	328,808
Michigan.....	31,639	†South Dakota.....	182,919
Florida.....	54,477	Washington.....	75,116
Iowa.....	43,112	Montana.....	39,159
Wisconsin.....	30,945	Idaho.....	84,385
Illinois.....	12,282	Wyoming.....	60,705

* Include with Mississippi.

† By census of 1890. In 1880 the population of both Dakotas was 135,177.

It will be seen that Arizona has a population sufficient for admission and has more people now than had two-thirds of the Territories at the date they became States.

The people of Arizona understand the spirit of American institutions and are much better fitted for self-government and for taking part in the choice of a President, Senators and Representatives than the majority of voters in New York and other large cities. In fact, as against the voters pouring into our ports from Europe, ignorant of our institutions, our customs, our laws, and even of our language—the almost purely American territory of Arizona should be admitted into the Union as a self-preserving counterbalance.

The valuation of property in the Territory for taxation is given at \$28,000,000, but this sum represents only about one-third of the true value. Land is taxed on an average value of \$1.41 per acre, horses at \$23 each, mules at \$29, and cattle at \$7 per head. All other property is placed upon the same low plane of valuation. The average rate of taxation approximates \$3 on each \$100—80 cents of which is for territorial uses. Wyoming and Idaho when admitted had valuations for taxable purposes of \$31,000,000 and \$28,000,000, respectively, and Arizona is by nature and development richer and more productive than either Wyoming, Idaho or Montana. Its debt is about \$800,000, and its credit is so good that it has been able to sell its bonds bearing five per cent. interest at par. Never in its history has the territory made a default on either the principal or interest of its debt.

When thoroughly prospected, Arizona will be found one of the richest sub-divisions of the Union in precious metals. Its mountains are full not only of precious metals, but of the finest beds

of onyx, and immense quarries of splendid building sandstone. The mines have, so far, been merely scratched, and yet the mineral product last year was :

Copper.....	\$4,500,000
Gold.....	3,000,000
Silver.....	2,200,000
Total.....	\$9,700,000

In live stock the Territory has a valuation of \$8,000,000. It grazes over 700,000 cattle and nearly a million sheep, and both these great interests are growing larger every year. The wool clip is estimated at 2,500,000 pounds and this industry is very prosperous and profitable, as the mild winters make it a paradise for sheep.

The land when cultivated under a system of irrigation is as fertile as the valley of the Nile. Every cereal known in the rainfall States can be grown, and in addition the semi-tropical fruits reach perfection. The oranges and lemons produced in the valleys of the Salt and Lower Gila rivers are as perfect as those from Florida and Southern California and ripen from four to six weeks earlier. All the citrus and deciduous fruits can be easily and cheaply grown, while for ordinary grain or grass farming the valleys all over the Territory cannot be surpassed in the United States.

Under the 512 miles of irrigating canals now constructed and in operation, 343,000 acres of land have been reclaimed and 1,730,000 are capable of reclamation. With proper laws upon the subject of water storage, it is estimated that 24,000,000 acres of fertile and productive land can be placed in the hands of the farmer and fruit grower. The pine forests of the Territory cover 1,750,000 acres, or about 2,700 square miles. The total quantity fit to be turned into lumber is 10,000,000,000 feet.

The Territory has 1,074 miles of railroad in operation, crossing it from east to west in both its northern and southern sections. A new road is now being built that will join the Atlantic & Pacific road in the north to the Southern Pacific in the south. The Indians are confined to reservations in the southeastern portion of the Territory and are now entirely harmless.

The political complexion of Arizona is at present Democratic, but party lines have never been drawn as in the States, and it is doubtful which party would be dominant under the new conditions

arising from Statehood. Should a Republican Senate pass the bill of admission already enacted by the House of Representatives and should the bill be signed by a Republican President the new State would be very close politically. If President Harrison in addition to signing the bill should at the same time proclaim an amnesty to the members of the Mormon church now under sentence for violation of the laws against polygamy, the Republicans of the Territory would have a fair chance of electing the new Legislature and securing two United States Senators. The Mormons comprise about one-seventh of the population and are on the whole a respectable and law-abiding element.

Arizona should be made a State because it meets all the requirements of Statehood. The Territory has the population to make a State, and the resources to maintain a State. To keep it any longer in its present condition of tutelage and leading strings would be not only a violation of the American idea of home rule but also a great political blunder. The objections made to the admission of Arizona to statehood are that its population is not sufficient and that its resources are not adequate ; and hence that it ought not to have as much political power in the United States Senate as the older and more populous States ; and also that its population is largely of Mexican birth.

The answer to the first objection is, that by precedent its population is more than sufficient ; to the second it need only be replied that those who put forward this objection are utterly ignorant of Arizona and its great resources ; to the third the obvious answer is that the objection, if one it be, has been made against the admission of every new State and that it is obviated by the fact that the House of Representatives stands for the people and the Senate for the political divisions known as States ; while to the last it may be said that the Mexican population is American by education, absorption and surroundings, and that more ignorance is naturalized, more crime sworn into citizenship, and more unfitness made into voters in New York and Chicago every year than there is in the entire Mexican vote of Arizona.

JOHN N. IRWIN.